

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 885

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L VIENNA 10082

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN

POLISH DELOFF AND FRG DEPREP

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

1. AT 6 DECEMBER AD HOC GROUP MEETING, FRG REP BEHREND DISTRIBUTED  
MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION ON 5 DECEMBER BETWEEN FRG DEPREP  
(HOFMANN) AND POLISH DELOFF WOITOWICZ. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT  
IN PARA 6 PERSONAL VIEW OF WOITOWICZ WITH RESPECT TO POSSIBILITY  
OF PROGRESS TOWARD FIRST PHASE U.S./SOVIET REDUCTION IS IN CONTRAST  
TO PREVIOUS POLISH EMPHASIS ON NEED TO INCLUDE BUNDESWEHR FROM  
THE OUTSET.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

ON DEC. 5, MR. HOFMANN HAD THE FOLLOWING CONVERSATION, UPON

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THE LATTERS REQUEST, WITH MR. WOITOWICZ, MEMBER OF THE POLISH

MBFR DELEGATION:

1) DATA: WOITOWICZ INDICATED THAT THE FORCE DATA ADVANCED BY NATO WERE MORE OR LESS OCRRECT EXCEPT THOSE FOR

-SOVIET GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ("NOT DRAMATICALLY LESS BUT FEWER BY MORE THAN 5,000 MEN")

- TANKS ON EITHER SIDE.

HE QUOTED 7,800 AS THE CORRECT FIGURE FOR MAIN BATTLE TANKS IN THE WEST (VOLUNTEERING THE DEFINITION "MEDIUM AND HEAVY TANKS"). THE FIGURE GIVEN FOR SOVIET GROUND FORCES BY NATO (460,000) MIGHT BE EXPLAINED BY OUR ASSUMPTION THAT ALL BATTALIONS WERE FULLY MANNED. WE HAD OBVIOUSLY COUNTED THE MANPOWER OF SOME FULLY "CADRED" UNITS.

2) "SYMBOLIC" STAGE:

WOITOWICZ GAVE THE ENVISAGED DIVISION OF THE PROPOSED 20,000 MEN REDUCTION ON THE EASTERN SIDE AS 5 : 3 : 1 : 1, I.E. 10,000 SOVIETS, 6,000 POLES, 2,000 EAST GERMANS AND CZECHS. HE ADMITTED THAT THE POLISH CONTRIBUTION WOULD BE OUTSIZED AND THAT POLISH REDUCTIONS WOULD BE VIEWED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AS LESS RELEVANT FOR THE SECURITY SITUATION THAN WITHDRAWAL OF FORWARD DEPLOYED EASTERN UNITS.

3) COMMON CEILING/SECOND PHASE:

WOITOWICZ COMPLAINED THAT THE WEST LEFT THE 2ND PHASE IN A "LIMBO". THE POLISH PUBLIC COULD NOT ACCEPT THE POSSIBILITY THAT U.S. FORCES MIGHT BE WITHDRAWN TO ALONE PROVIDE MOVEMENT TO A COMMON CEILING. (WISTFULLY HE REMARKED THAT WE PROBABLY ONLY AGREED ON THIS ONE POINT: THAT THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE OUGHT NOT TO BE DRASTICALLY REDUCED.)

HOFMANN STRESSED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE WEST'S INTEREST IN PHASE II (COMMON CEILING GOAL\*) AND EXPLAINED THAT THERE WERE LIMITS AS TO THE PRE ISION OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN

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PHASE I AND PHASE II SINCE OTHERWISE THE VERY DISTINCTION OF NEGOTIATING IN PHASES WOULD DISAPPEAR.

4) DISPARITIES:

WOITOWICZ CLAIMED HE COULD LIST 16 SPECIFIC DISPARITIES FAVORING AT LEAST INDIRECTLY THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE WEST. WHILE ADMITTING THE "DIFFERENCES" ON WHICH NATO'S CASE RESTS, HE THOUGHT IT INEQUITABLE TO USE THE SAME ARGUMENT THREE TIMES

OVER A) FOR NUMBERICALLY LARGER EASTERN REDUCTIONS, B) FOR DEMANDING A "0 VERSUS 1700" TANK REDUCTION AND C) FOR THINNING OUT PLUS STORAGE IN THE WEST. WHEN WOITOWICZ CALLED "DISPARITIES" A HIGHLY DISTASTEFUL FORMULATION, HOFMANN REFERRED IN TURN TO "HISTORICALLY GROWN FORCE RELATIONSHIPS" AS A FORMULATION WE WOULD LIKE NOT TO BE USED.

5) EASTERN WORKING ARRANGEMENTS:

WOITOWICZ STRESSED STRONGLY THAT EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS WERE NOT AGREED, NOT EVEN KNOWN TO THE OTHER EASTERN PARTICIPANTS BEFORE BEING DELIVERED. ONLY THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND THE TREND OF ARGUMENT WERE DISCUSSED BEFOREHAND. (THE FOLLOWING PART OF THIS REPORT IS TO BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT OF ALLEGED INDEPENDENCE).

6) HOW TO PROCEED?

WOITOWICZ THOUGHT "PERSONALLY" THAT PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE IF  
-A FIRST "PHASE" WAS LIMITED TO "SYMBOLIC" SOVIET AND  
U.S. GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS OF 20,000 MEAN EACH  
-WITH THE PROVISO THAT IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT THE  
REDUCTION OF OTHER TYPES OF FORCES --AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES--  
AT A LATER STAGE WAS NOT EXCLUDED.

HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER HIS APPROACH WOULD BE SHARED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION.

(WOITOWICZ SEEMS SENSITIVE TO THE FORCE OF THE ARGUMENT THAT THE PROPOSED REDUCTIONS OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD BE IRRELEVANT AS FAR AS THE RESULTS OF A POSSIBLE NUCLEAR WAR ON POLAND WERE CONCERNED.

IN THIS CONTEXT HE HIMSELF POINTED OUT THE DIFFICULTY OF COMPARING A GERMAN STARFIGHTER PLANE WITH ITS MANYFOLD MISSIONS TO ANY ONE OF THE EASTERN AIRCRAFT).

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END TEXTHUMES

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